

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3062

SECRET SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 5902

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81  
TAGS: PFOR, NATO  
SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: CURRENT WORKING TEXT OF DRAFT ATLANTIC  
DECLARATION

FOLLOWING REPRESENTS CURRENT WORKING TEXT OF ATLANTIC  
DECLARATION DRAFT. IT IS A COMPOSITE OF FRENCH NOVEMBER 12  
DRAFT AS TRANSLATED BY UK DEL (USNATO 5636), PLUS THOSE  
AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED BY OTHER ALLIES WHICH THE FRENCH HAVE  
FOUND ACCEPTABLE OR HAVE ACCEPTED IN MODIFIED FORM. ALSO  
IDENTIFIED ARE SPECIFIC LANGUAGE CHANGES FORMALLY SANCTIONED  
BY CAPITALS AND PROPOSED BY PERMREPS WHETHER OR NOT THESE HAVE  
BEEN ACCEPTED BY FRENCH. WE HAVE ALSO INCORPORATED SUGGESTED  
U.S. REVISIONS IN TEXT (STATE 236115 EXDIS) ALTHOUGH SPECIFICS  
OF THESE HAVE NOT YET BEEN LAID ON TABLE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED  
THAT TEXT BELOW WILL DIFFER IN MINOR WORDING CHANGES FROM THE  
NEW IS DRAFT CURRENTLY IN PREPARATION (USNATO 5876 EXDIS).

BEGEN TEXT:

1. THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE DECLARE THAT  
THE TREATY WHICH THEY SIGNED TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, TO PRE-  
SERVE THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE (AFTER A WAR WHICH HAD  
ALMOST DEPRIVED THEM OF BOTH) (GREEKS PROPOSED AND FRENCH  
ACCEPTED REMOVAL OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE) HAS SET THE SEAL ON  
THE COMMON DESTINY OF THE COUNTRIES ON EUROPE, THE UNITED  
STATES AND CANADA. UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE TREATY,  
(WESTERN EUROPE) GREECE SUGGESTS REPLACING "WESTERN EUROPE"  
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WITH "THE EUROPEAN ALLIES") HAS BEEN ABLE TO REBUILD FROM ITS  
RUINS, TO ATTAIN AN UNPRECEDENTED LEVEL OF PROSPERITY AND TO  
LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY, (WHILE THE WESTERN WORLD  
REGAINED ITS SELF-CONFIDENCE AND ENSURED THE SPREAD OF THOSE

CIVILIZED VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH ITS NAME.) (NORWAY SUGGESTS  
DELETION OF BRACKETED CLAUSE)

2. MEANWHILE, GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE ROAD  
TOWARDS DETENTE AND HARMONY BETWEEN NATIONS, TO A POINT WHERE A  
CONFERENCE INVOLVING 35 COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA  
(IS PREPARING) (GREECE SUGGESTS "IS TRYING" FOR "IS PREPARING";  
FRANCE SUGGESTS "INTENDS") TO LAY DOWN THE RIGHT GUIDELINES FOR  
INCREASING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THE MEMBERS OF  
THE ALLIANCE WELCOME THIS (INSERT: "AND REAFFIRM THAT THEIR  
GOALS IN EUROPE REMAIN THE SEARCH FOR DETENTE AND COOPERATION  
WITH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE CONTINENT"--DANISH VERSION)  
(INSERT: "AND WILL DO EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO IMPROVE  
EUROPEAN SECURITY BY MEANS OF THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS  
BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE AND  
BY THE ELIMINATION OF THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION. THEY  
NONETHELESS FEEL THAT AS LONG AS CIRCUMSTANCES DO NOT  
PERMIT"; THEREFORE, DELETE "BUT UNTIL CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT"  
--NETHERLANDS VERSION, SUPPORTED BY NORWAY) BUT UNTIL  
CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION OF (GENERAL, COMPLETE)  
(GREECE SUGGESTS REPLACEMENT OF "GENERAL, COMPLETE" BY  
"BALANCED") AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, WHICH ALONE COULD  
PROVIDE GENUINE SECURITY FOR ALL, THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT (CURRENT  
DEVELOPMENTS, FAR FROM BEING INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE AIMS OF  
THE TREATY WHICH UNITES THEM, IMPOSE ON THEM THE OBLIGATION  
TO MAINTAIN THE MUTUAL LINKS DERIVING FROM THIS TREATY.)  
(FRANCE SUGGESTS REPLACING BRACKETED LANGUAGE WITH "IT IS  
IMPORTANT THAT THE LINKS WHICH BIND THEM BE MAINTAINED.") STATES  
THAT WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE HAVE NEVER ACHIEVED THIS AIM BY  
NEGLECTING THE DEMANDS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY. (NORWAY  
SUGGESTS MOVING PARAGRAPH 11 TO NUMBER TWO POSITION.)

3. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT THE CONTEXT  
OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST  
TEN YEARS. SINCE IT IS ONLY THEIR STRATEGIC ARMS THAT RENDER  
THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MUTUALLY VULNERABLE,  
THE BALANCE ESTABLISHED IN THIS FIELD BETWEEN THEM GIVES A  
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STRONG ELEMENT OF STABILITY TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO  
POWERS. BUT THIS DOES NOT HOLD GOOD FOR EUROPE, WHICH REMAINS  
PARTICULARLY EXPOSED TO ALL OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT, SO THAT THE  
PROBLEM OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE TAKES ON AN INCREASINGLY DISTINCTIVE  
CHARACTER. (LUXEMBOURG WOULD ADD "WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK  
OF NATO.") (NORWAY WOULD ADD "FOR THE ALLIANCE") (U.S. PROPOSES  
THAT TEXT BE REDRAFTED TO READ: "AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE  
THAT, WHILE THE CONTEXT OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAS BEEN CON-  
SIDERABLY MODIFIED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, INCLUDING  
THE EVOLUTION INTO APPROXIMATE BALANCE OF THE STRATEGIC RELA-  
TIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET  
UNION, THE TERRITORIES AND FORCES OF ALL OF THE MEMBER  
STATES OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE TO ATTACK. IN PARTICULAR,

THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR ATTACK TAKES ON AN INCREASINGLY COMPLEX CHARACTER AS AN ASPECT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSES. THE NORTH AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALLIES, BY FREELY CHOOSING TO ADHERE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL, AND BY CHOOSING TO STATION ARMED FORCES IN THE TERRITORY OF THEIR ALLIES, SHARE AS PARTNERS IN ALL ASPECTS OF THE DEFENSE OF THE ENTIRE TREATY AREA, AND THEREBY DIMINISH THE DANGERS TO WHICH ANY INDIVIDUAL MEMBER COUNTRY WOULD OTHERWISE BE EXPOSED.")

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EXDIS

4. (THIS NEW SITUATION HAS BASICALLY PRODUCED NON CHANGE.) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION) THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THAT THERE IS (AT PRESENT) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION, NORWAY ALSO FAVORS) (FRG SUGGESTS REPLACEMENT BY "IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE") NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, (WHETHER BASED IN AMERICA OR EUROPE.) (ITALY AND LUXEMBOURG SUGGEST DELETING BRACKETED LANGUAGE) (FRANCE SUGGESTS CHANGING IT TO READ "BASED IN THE U.S. AND EUROPE.")

5. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALLIANCE MUST NOW PAY MORE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS TO WHICH IT IS EXPOSED IN THE EUROPEAN REGION, AND MUST ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO AVERT THEM. THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE (THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CONVENTIONAL FORCES OF THE ALLIANCE) (U.S. SUGGESTS REPLACING WITH "NINETY PERCENT OF THE MEN UNDER ARMS") IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENSE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND OF REPELLING ALL AGGRESSION SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL. THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART DECLARIES THAT IT WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE EUROPE TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY TO DEPRIVE IT OF ITS FREEDOM. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED

TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND TO  
MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD

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DETERRENCE FAIL; (AND THAT THE AIM OF ITS AGREEMENT OF 22ND  
JUNE, 1973 WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS  
FORMS, NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD  
BE WAGED.) (U.S. SUGGESTS DELETION)

6. IN THIS CONNECTION, SINCE THE GOAL OF ANY DEFENSE POLICY IS  
TO FRUSTRATE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY WOULD  
SEEK TO SECURE BY STARTING A WAR, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE  
AFFIRM THAT ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD IF NECESSARY BE USED  
FOR THIS PURPOSE. (U.S. SUGGESTS ADDING: 'NONETHELESS,  
THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE AIM OF THEIR POLICIES IS  
TO PREVENT WAR IN ALL ITS FORMS, AND NOT TO LAY DOWN RULES  
AND LIMITS UNDER WHICH WAR WOULD BE WAGED.")

7. THE COMMON DEFENSE IS INDEED BINDINGUPON ALL AND  
INDIVIDUBLE. THE COMMON AIM IS TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY  
TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT. (IN WHICH, THROUGH  
THE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPE'S INDEPENDENCE, THE SUBJECTION OF  
THE WORLD WOULD BE AT STAKE.) (NORWAY SUGGESTS DELETION)

8. WITH THIS IN VIEW, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE CONTINUED  
PRESENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN FORCES IN DUROPE PLAYS AN  
INDISPENSABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES, AS MUCH  
AS OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. (CANADA SUGGESTS ADDING CLAUSE  
TO FIRST SENTENCE: "JUST AS THE ROLE OF CANADIAN FORCES IN  
EUROPE IS FOR THE DEFENSE OF CANADA AS WELL AS FOR THAT OF  
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.") (FRANCE SUGGESTS REPLACING SENTENCE  
WITH "IN THEIS PERSPECTIVE, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT A CONTINUED  
SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN  
IRREPLACEABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENSE OF THE U.S. AND THE EUROPEAN  
COUNTRIES. IN A SIMILAR MANNER, CANADIAN FORCES ARE IN EUROPE  
FOR THE DEFENSE OF CANADA AS WELL AS FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE  
EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.") SIMILARLY, THE PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN  
ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNION SHOULD, IN DUE COURSE,  
HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS (ON THE DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THOSE  
OF ITS MEMBER STATES WHO ARE AT THE SAME TIME MEMBERS OF THE  
ALLIANCE.) (TURKEY SUGGESTS REPLACING BRACKETED LANGUAGE  
WITH: "ON THE INDIVISIBLE DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE.")  
(FRANCE SUGGESTS FINAL CLAUSE: "HAVE BENEFICIAL FECTS  
ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER STATES WHO ARE  
ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.") (FRG SUGGESTS

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ADDING NEW LAST SENTENCE: "THE CLOSE COOPERATION OF THE  
EUROPEAN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WITH A VIEW TO RETIONALIZE  
AND TO HARMONIZE THEIR SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICIES AS

WELL AS TO GUIDE THEIR DEFENSE EFFORTS IS IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIANCE AND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A UNITED EUROPE.")

9. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER THAT THE WILL TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THEIR COMMON DEFENSE OBLIGES THEM TO NEGLECT NOTHING WHICH MIGHT IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THEIR OWN FORCES, AND THAT EACH COUNTRY SHOULD UNDERTAKE, IN LINE (WITH ITS POSITION) (GREECE AND TURKEY WISH TO REPLACE "WITH ITS POSITION" BY "WITH ITS MEANS") IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS PROPER SHARE OF THE BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF ALL. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY CONSIDER THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE ACCEPTED IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT OR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH COULD REDUCE THAT SECURITY.

10. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, NOW AS EVER, THAT THESE AIMS WILL ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN MUTUAL TRUST ON ALL THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENSE ARE COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST WEST RELATIONS. (FRG SUGGESTS ADDING AS NEW THIRD SENTENCE: "FURTHERMORE THE ALLIES WILL CONSULT WHENEVER A CONFLICT OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA COULD ENDANGER THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.") FURTHERMORE, WHILE CARRYING OUT THE INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS AND COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 USNATO 5902

EXDIS

11. THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY IS BASED ON A COMMON DEDICATION TO THE (IDEALS) (NETHERLANDS PROPOSED REPLACING "IDEALS" WITH "PRINCIPLES"; FRENCH FIRST ACCEPTED THIS CHANGE AND LATER SUGGESTED THAT FIRST CLAUSE, SENTENCE 1 READ: "THEY RECALL THAT THEIR SOLIDARITY SHOULD BE FOUNDED ON A COMMON ATTACHMENT TO DEMOCRACY,") OF DEMOCRACY, RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, WHICH ARE THE FRUITS OF THEIR SHARED SPIRITUAL HERITAGE. (NETHERLANDS PROPOSED AND

FRENCH ACCEPTED ADDITION OF "WHICH THEY HAVE DECIDED TO MAINTAIN.") SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FORBID ANY RECOURSE TO METHODS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE EFFORTS WHICH THEY MAKE TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THEIR PEOPLES EXCLUDE ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST ANYONE, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, AND ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

IN EUROPE, THEIR OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE PURSUIT OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE THEIR SPECIAL OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS THOSE WHO HAVE NOT YET BENEFITED FROM ALL THE ADVANTAGES OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS. (NETHERLANDS SUGGESTS MOVING TEXT OF ENTIRE PARAGRAPH 11 TO BECOME NEW SECOND PARAGRAPH.)

12. IN SO DOING, THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THE TASK THEY OFFER THEIR PEOPLES, AND IN PARTICULAR THEIR YOUTH, IS EQUAL TO  
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THEIR VIGOUR AND ASPIRATIONS. FREEDOM DEMANDS THAT THOSE WHO WISH TO ENJOY IT MUST ALSO BEAR FULLY ITS RESPONSIBILITIES. (NORWAY PREFERENCES TO DROP PARAGRAPH 12. AS ALTERNATIVE, COULD ACCEPT COMBINING PARAGRAPH 12 WITH NEW PARAGRAPH 13 SUGGESTED BY DUTCH, BELOW, TO READ: "IN THEIR COOPERATION, THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WILL BE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO RESPOND TO THE HOPES AND AMBITIONS OF THEIR PEOPLES AND ESPECIALLY OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION. THEY HAVE AGREED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION.")

13. (NETHERLANDS SUGGESTS ADDING AS THIRTEENTH PARAGRAPH: "THE SIGNATORIES HAVE AGREED TO REVIEW PERIODICALLY THE STATE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIPS AND TO EVALUATE PROGRESS TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES SET FORTH IN THIS DECLARATION.")

END TEXT.  
RUMSFELD

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